THE Nation

July 12, 1952

CAREY McWILLIAMS

Gen. Taft and Mr. Eisenhower

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EARL B. DICKERSON

The Negro and the High Court

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Japan: Danger Ahead

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THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 175 NEW YORK • SATURDAY • JULY 12, 1952 NUMBER 2

The Shape of Things

Progressives' Convention

Almost a total news blackout hid the operations in Chicago last week-end of the Progressive Party's national convention, which nominated Vincent Hallinan for President and Charlotta Bass for Vice President. Shorn of its 1948 Presidential nominee, Henry A. Wallace, and otherwise decimated by the events of the cold war it was only through the insistence of the Federal Communications Commission that the party was able to get any of its proceedings on the national networks. The behavior of the press and the networks is of course based on their guess that this year, unlike 1948, when they took three states away from Mr. Truman, the Progressives will be unable to garner enough votes to swing any states into the Republican column.

From several points of view, however, this is unfortunate. We have no illusions as to the possibility that the Progressives can become the long-awaited third party which will, in Vito Marcantonio's words, signalize the beginning of the "crackup" of the Democrats, or even bring about a useful realignment of forces in the two old parties. But it remains a fact that, because of its threat in several key areas, Wallace's candidacy four years ago had a useful effect in needling the President on issues touching the interests of independent liberals. This year, with all liberal programs in mortal danger, the lack of an effective challenge from the left is only regrettable.

Strachey Speaks for British Labor

Britain's sharp reaction to the American decision—made without consultation—to bomb the power installations near the Manchurian border produced as a first result the appointment of a British officer as a deputy to General Mark W. Clark. This has been followed by a proposal from London that a civilian advisor also be attached to General Clark to give him diplomatic guidance on military matters weighted with political implications.

If our European allies find the courage to demand an end of unilateral war- and policy-making in Washington, other things may also change. John Strachey, Minister of War in the Labor government, in a major political speech in London last Saturday not only denounced the North Korean bombings as "dangerous folly, which the whole world has interpreted as having the character of widening the war." He also said British opinion solidly opposes the idea that the Chinese Nationalists can be put back into power. Speaking not only for himself but for Mr. Attlee and other Labor Party leaders, he called for "A clear declaration on the part of all governments of the United Nations, including America, that as soon as an armistice is concluded in Korea, China [*i.e.*, the Peking government] will be admitted to the Security Council, the government of Chiang Kai-shek will no longer be recognized, and negotiations for a settlement of Formosa, . . . will be begun." This plan, he admitted, was not practical politics today in the United States but eventually it would "have to prevail." Apart from its immediate applicability, however, such a proposal coming at this time from one of the leaders of the Labor Opposition, which is daily gaining adherents at the expense of the Tories, is political pressure of a most potent sort—on Whitehall and in Washington too. It adds one further item to the elements of hope in the Far Eastern situation.

Congress and Controls

President Truman signed a watered-down price-and-wage-control bill on the theory that half a loaf is better than none. No one knows whether the law as passed will prove sufficient to ward off disastrous inflation; the Congress which passed it did not even attempt to find out. The New York *Times* reported as follows on the manner in which our representatives in Washington decided on the price we must pay for the things we eat, the things we wear, the roof over our heads:

> All last week the corridor across the back of the House chamber was jammed with representatives of industrialists, retailers, real-estate men, and other anti-controls groups. During the hectic House debates . . . the lobbyists buttonholed their Congressmen friends and handed them anti-controls amendments which in some cases were submitted on the House floor without even a prior reading by the sponsoring Representative.

This is parliamentary democracy at its worst. The Republican reactionaries and Dixiecrats, who were primarily

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The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1952, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year $7; Two years $12; Three years $17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

responsible for the fiasco, were apparently motivated equally by their friendship for the lobbyists and their grudge against Truman and his wage and price stabilizers. Well, the ultimate responsibility for what happens as the result of the law will be theirs. November may prove again—as Novembers have proved in the past—that a $5 rent raise or a 3-cent boost in the price of canned vegetables impresses the voters more than a million words of oratory.

The Plague of UNESCO

In protest against the recent United Nations decision favoring the admission of Franco Spain into UNESCO, Albert Camus, distinguished French novelist and playwright, has broken off all relations with this U. N. agency. Known in the United States chiefly as author of the best-selling novel "The Plague," Camus has often been attacked by the Communists, and his action cannot be ascribed to Muscovite influence. In his letter to Jaime Torres Bodet, director of UNESCO, the French writer merely said that it would be impossible for him to give his "personal and professional collaboration" to an organization in which a representative of Franco would sit.

Camus's motive is perfectly clear. He considers it intolerable for the United States, Great Britain, and France, through their votes, to decide that Spanish culture should be represented by a second-rate artist in the service of a dictator. No decision made by the United Nations in regard to Spain has been so outrageous as this attempt to wed UNESCO, devoted to the promotion of culture, to Francisco Franco, the murderer of Federico García Lorca.

But Budenz Goes Free

In 1950 Senator McCarthy charged Owen Lattimore with being a "Soviet agent." After an elaborate investigation by the Tydings committee Lattimore was formally exonerated. But essentially the same charge was later repeated before the McCarran committee, which refused to hear Mr. Lattimore until the poison of the headlines had spread far and wide. The committee then subjected its victim to the longest Congressional cross-examination on record, a twelve-day ordeal, constantly interrupting him when he attempted to get his refutation on the record. During this second "trial"—only the man's job and honor and reputation were at stake—without benefit of judge, jury, or due process, the committee was presented with a clear-cut challenge to find the truth: Budenz, the committee's star witness, had called Lattimore a Communist; Lattimore called this a lie; and both men were under oath. But instead of sending their testimony to the Department of Justice to determine the truth, the committee has recommended grand-jury proceedings against Lattimore for perjury while entirely ignoring the conflicts in the testimony of Budenz.

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The public will hardly overlook the fact that only a few days ago the State Department issued a formal apology to Mr. Lattimore on the passport incident. For a second it seemed as though the Baltimore professor might be permitted to win a round, but, no, the effect of the apology was promptly nullified by the issuance of this latest report, which reeks of personal malice and partisan passion. Just how free, indeed, is free? And what ever happened to "double jeopardy"? And is there a candidate for the Presidency, Democratic or Republican, with the courage and sense of political responsibility to denounce this Nazi-like procedure?

Encampment for Citizenship

Two weeks ago, 110 young people between the ages of seventeen and twenty-three settled in on the campus of the Fieldston School in Riverdale on the outskirts of New York City for a six-week "Encampment for Citizenship." They came from farms, mines, high-school and college classrooms; among them are law students, grocery clerks, waiters, teachers. Thirty-three states are represented and a number of foreign countries as well. There are no distinctions of race, creed, or color. These young adults will live together for six weeks—an experience in itself enlightening; and they will take part in intensive discussions of the basic elements of good citizenship. They will also have a lot of fun.

The Encampment is sponsored by the American Ethical Union, and since 1946 some 700 young people have attended its sessions. The letters they write afterward—we have seen samples—provide ample and touching evidence of the profit and pleasure they derive from this association with their peers and the teachers who direct the discussions. What cannot be gauged, but will be even more important in the long run, is the influence these young people will carry to the widely scattered communities from which they hail.

General Taft and Mr. Eisenhower

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

IN THE early stages of the Republican convention the Taft steam-roller flattened out the opposition with an arrogant show of power, nominating the keynoter and chairman, commanding a spot on the program for Senator McCarthy, winning the first tests of strength in committees. While Eisenhower was demonstrating technique as a dry-fly fisherman in Colorado, Taft's men were hooking delegates in Chicago.

Behind Taft's powerful bid for the nomination has been the power of a political coalition that, in the making for many years, reached maturity in Chicago. Taft went to the convention as the favorite of two equally aggressive and reactionary forces within the Republican Party. On the one hand, he has been embraced with enthusiasm by "the angry right," in whose eyes McCarthy and MacArthur are demi-gods. This angry right is made up of many elements—pre-Pearl Harbor America Firsters, remnants of the Coughlinite movement, Christian Fronters, and other bizarre elements that were once readily identifiable as "native fascists." Taft has repudiated the support of the more vicious of these elements, but the repudiation is entirely *pro forma*; witness his alliance with McCarthy. Then there are "the widow-makers," the elements whose presence one always senses but never quite manages to see behind the figure of John Foster Dulles. These elements move on levels at which power is highly concentrated; they manipulate McCarthy and other puppets. Always dangerous, alone or in combination, the strength of these elements has been greatly enhanced by the rise of neo-fascism as a world-wide aspect of the crusade against communism. Whatever the Senator from Ohio may have been in the past, he is today the leader of an aggressive neo-fascist coalition. By comparison, Eisenhower seems like a starry-eyed Kansas youngster trying for first prize in a high-school speech competition; his supporters, too, seem paragons of civic virtue in comparison with the "old hands" who have been steering the Taft machine. Both camps are perhaps equally conservative, but the Eisenhower supporters have not yet abandoned the traditional air of a genteel business conservatism, whereas the Taftites are not at all embarrassed by the support of political gangsters.

Yet seldom if ever have two rivals so signally failed to define their basic differences as is the case in the bitter feud between Taft and Eisenhower. To help baffled voters we assigned Barrow Lyons the task of cataloguing in last week's issue some of the apparent differences in method and approach, if not in substance. But the basic paradox of a bitter feud over scarcely defined issues remains, and it can only be explained, in the last analysis, by the strange reversal of roles that has been forced on both men by the exigencies, real or imagined, of practical politics.

The Republican Party is a party of the right: that is, it is more obviously a party of property and power than is the Democratic Party. From the outset Taft's strategy has been to preempt the extreme right-wing position in a manner that would make it impossible for any rival to turn his right flank. The feeling for such a strategy has been, of course, as much a matter of temperamental preference as of cold calculation. But once committed to it, Taft found himself forced into sounding more and more like a puppet being manipulated by John Foster Dulles and Douglas MacArthur. Both Dulles and MacArthur deny that they advocate a preventive war, but the policies they urge today—and there has been a noticeable

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shift in Dulles's position—point down a path that leads to war. Of late Dulles has attacked the "almost entirely defensive policies of so-called containment" as marking "a serious retrogression" and has called for a more "dynamic" policy. That Taft has swung around to this point of view is shown by his willingness to let Dulles draft the foreign-policy plank, his unqualified support of General MacArthur's military policies, his active alliance with McCarthy, and the confident assertion in his Hershey, Pennsylvania, speech that we can risk even greater provocations, since Old Joe Stalin has simply "bamboozled" Harry Truman.

Eisenhower has not called the Taft-Dulles position by its right name, but he has definite reservations about it. At a recent press conference a reporter said: "I have great difficulty defining the differences between your policy and Dulles's and Taft's. Can you do that in a concise way?" But about the most "concise" the General dared be was to say: "I don't know that Dulles and I are very far apart. I merely thought that lately he was sure that all we had to do was sit at home and have an air force to suddenly dispatch off into the wild blue yonder and that would have all the influence we needed."

AS THE pre-convention campaign unfolded, Taft was forced to take an increasingly aggressive position on foreign policy, while Eisenhower, who began with a me-too strategy, has moved steadily to a more conciliatory position since his Denver speech. Thus Taft, the civilian fighting to remove a pre-war "isolationist" tag, has sounded more and more like the military chauvinist; whereas Eisenhower, the general fighting the "military" tag, has actually sounded much more pacific than Taft, who voted against the Selective Service Act and today opposes universal military training!

What has really happened is not so much that each man has tried to reverse his position—the civilian to become a general, the general to become a civilian—as that the old tags are quite meaningless today. "Isolationists" are no longer pitted against "interventionists"; the division now is between two opposing schools of thought on how to win a war. As Walter Lippmann has pointed out, there are virtually no isolationists nowadays, only "unilateralists" and "coalitionists." The former isolationists, like Senator Bricker, do not attack the United Nations today because they want the United States to stay at home and avoid entangling alliances; they are merely convinced that this country can, and should, boss the world.

This behind-the-scenes feud between the "primitives" and the "sophisticates" in the Republican Party is important not merely because the difference in emphasis might lead to modification in policy, but also because the Taft men now are the most aggressively pro-war elements in the party. Eisenhower's nomination would mean a setback if not a defeat for these elements. It would mean, too, that the good sense of our allies might still be listened to, occasionally, in Washington. On two important occasions—when MacArthur sent South Korean forces across the Thirty-eighth Parallel and just recently when the installations on the Yalu River were bombed—it has been pressure from our allies, not domestic political pressure, that imposed a mild brake on the forward movement of our impulsive policy. If the Taft "isolationists" came to power, they would be wholly indifferent to if not openly contemptuous of any foreign restraint.

BUT it must be admitted that the differences between the Republican "unilateralists" and "coalitionists" can fade into nothingness if they are not emphasized. Mr. Eisenhower has failed to sharpen the public's awareness of the differences. These differences can be made pretty meaningless, too, by the course of the war in Korea. The Washington *Post*, the New York *Post*, and a few other papers have argued the case that the Yalu bombings do not represent a surrender by the Administration to the MacArthur thesis; but the argument has not impressed our European allies, and the glee with which the Hearst press announced the raids as a striking confirmation of the soundness of MacArthur's strategy would also indicate that the distinction is too fine for practical politics.

Even if Eisenhower should win the nomination, he is likely to end as the captive of the forces that have been trying to steam-roller Taft into the White House. It is quite apparent that, as the convention opened, these forces controlled the machinery of the Republican Party and held the balance of Republican power in Congress. And unfortunately there has been a suggestion of capitulation, not resistance, in the attitude of the Eisenhower backers. There was, for example, the warning of Dewey's public-relations expert to Senator Lodge to be careful about speaking out against McCarthyism after McCarthy had been invited to address the convention.

The irony of the 1952 political situation lies in the ability of the most reactionary elements in each party to maintain an apparent veto power over the most liberal elements in each. If the liberals were united in one party they might be able to fashion an effective majority. As it is, it is debatable whether Eisenhower would be any more the captive of the "primitives" in the Republican Party than, say, Governor Stevenson would be of the Dixiecrat Malanites in the Democratic. In both instances, the "primitives" continue to amass power by forcing the opposition to appease them. Just as Mr. Acheson's most loyal defenders now sadly concede that he knuckles under to McCarran, so General Eisenhower dismays his friends by refusing to repudiate McCarthy. Are the people to be offered a Hobson's choice between the appeasers of McCarran and the appeasers of McCarthy?

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Edouard Herriot at Eighty

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

ON JULY 5 one of the few outstanding European statesmen reached an age at which, according to prevailing American ideas, he should have retired from politics. The French, however, know that a man like Edouard Herriot, long-time leader of the Radical Socialist Party, is too valuable to be spared; they congratulate themselves on having a president of the National Assembly who at eighty is willing as well as able to continue in his post, and who through his innate authority and invincible good humor can impose order on the most tumultuous session.

After enjoying a dinner which would make any dietician shudder, each course a threat to one with his multiple infirmities, M. Herriot goes to the Assembly leaning on his stick or on the arm of a friend. His appearance may give the impression of a helpless old man, but it is his adversaries on the floor who find themselves helpless when he moves into action.

In the best French tradition Herriot has always been a combination of artist and statesman, occupied with his writing—on such varied themes as "Beethoven" and "Mme Récamier" and "The Forests of Normandy"—and with governing his city of Lyons, of which he once wrote, "I cherish Lyons as one loves a woman." He has been mayor of the city since 1905 and has not only built up its trade and industry and sponsored its famous "fair" but added greatly to its beauty with parks and gardens. Flowers are one of his chief interests: on May 18, 1940, the day the German armies broke through the French line at Sedan, he found a moment to talk with the gardener in the grounds of the Chamber of Deputies, who was calmly watering his begonias, indifferent to the rumor that Paris was to be evacuated immediately.

He is a connoisseur in many fields. When he visited Madrid in the first years of the Spanish republic, he astonished the curators of the Prado museum by his detailed knowledge of the great masters, their techniques, their lives, and the development of their art. His friendship for the Spanish Republicans never wavered.

Edouard Herriot had a good start. He began the studies which he has continued throughout his long life at the Ecole Normale, an institution so exacting that it would reject a boy for failure to recall some minor incident in history. On leaving, Herriot received from Poincaré an appointment as teacher at the Lycée of Nantes. His lectures on Voltaire and Vigny revealed his exceptional qualities, but he first became known as a brilliant speaker in the chair of rhetoric at Lyons. In the decades between the wars he served many French governments. In power or out, he remained a dominating figure on the French political scene.

THE fall of France affected him more profoundly than one might have thought from his attitude. Revolted by the conventional patriotic pronunciamientos under which the defeatists concealed their cowardice, he refused to take part in the farce. On the night of the capitulation, when Chautemps' intrigues brought Pétain to power, Herriot placed himself at the side of Georges Mandel, the conservative Minister of the Interior who had been his political adversary, both opposing the surrender and demanding that the government should go to Africa to continue the fight. Mandel, a Jew, gave a lesson in patriotism to the anti-Semitic *canaille* which sought another Hitler for France—and was murdered for his courage.

Edouard Herriot

After the Pétain government was installed at Vichy, Herriot continued to attend the sessions of the captive Chamber and to defend the rights of those members who had gone to North Africa. He remained in occupied France himself and was arrested by the Germans in 1942. When Darlan pretended to share his opposition to the capitulators, Pétain and Weygand, Herriot remarked: "This admiral knows how to swim."

In the post-war years he observed with growing anxiety that the forces of reaction were returning to power as a result of the international crisis, which was uniting the most incompatible groups in a common front against Russia. He was too experienced a politician to share the illusion of some members of his own party and of the Socialists that it would be possible to form an alliance with the right against communism and afterward—tearing up the mortgage—reestablish the balance with a firm center-left platform. He knew that once the right was in power, it would not easily be driven out, and that the aggressiveness required for a successful attempt could not be expected from a left split and demoralized by its re-

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treats and its deals. As the architect of the old *cartel des gauches*, he hoped at the beginning that the Radicals would have the courage and the Communists the tolerance to bring to the task of rebuilding France the unity and fervor of the Resistance.

When he saw that internal divisions and the exigencies of foreign policy made this impossible, he limited his activities to presiding over the National Assembly and directing the annual conventions of his party. He did not want the Radicals to fall completely under the reactionary influence of Edouard Daladier, his long-time rival for the leadership. Then at the beginning of this year his apathy suddenly disappeared in the face of a new challenge. He was aroused by NATO's plan to base European defense on the projected German divisions, and he decided to oppose publicly a policy which he thought disastrous for France and likely to bring on a third world war.

He first expressed himself on the subject in an address at the Sorbonne—scarcely noticed in the American press—congratulating Léon Jouhaux on having been awarded the Nobel peace prize. Other notables spoke that night, but Herriot was the wittiest and most effective, and also seemed the youngest; he was clearly in the full vigor of his intellectual powers. A few weeks ago, at the Radical Socialist Party congress, he gave political form to his remarks at the Sorbonne, and demanded that France refuse to support a German policy which might lead to war with Russia. In this the president of the Assembly is in full accord with the president of the republic, Vincent Auriol, who in recent months has constantly urged a Big Four conference on Germany.

At eighty, Edouard Herriot has inaugurated a new phase of his memorable career: he has become the spokesman of the universal demand for peace.

Negro Rights and the Supreme Court

BY EARL B. DICKERSON

THE astute Mr. Dooley's often quoted remark that "the Supreme Court follows the iliction returns" is peculiarly applicable to the court's civil-rights decisions, as Professor John Frank has recently pointed out. In one of his annual summaries of the court's work Professor Frank said:

> In the past, it has been political action rather than Supreme Court majority decisions which has brought the country out of its repressions. The victory of Jefferson and not the accession of John Marshall [as Chief Justice] ended the Alien and Sedition laws. . . . The Supreme Court has seldom been in the civil-rights vanguard when the tensions were strong; indeed, it was Supreme Court decisions that sent the Negro part-way back to bondage after the Civil War.

The present witch-hunting period provides additional proof that the court has often not merely refused to check the movement toward repression but contributed to its force.

The tide of New Deal liberalism reached its crest in Congress and the White House in the late 1930's. In the Supreme Court the crest came in the first year or two of the next decade. The court in which Justices Black, Douglas, Murphy, and Rutledge joined forces was the one that most widely extended the constitutional safeguards of the right to picket, to distribute leaflets, to hold public meetings, and to express unpopular views. Certainly between the years 1937 and 1943 the court gave the Bill of Rights new breadth and depth and came close to restoring to the freedoms of the First Amendment the spirit and meaning the Founding Fathers intended it to have.

The decline of the New Deal ended the era of liberalism. The cold war and the rapid development of a war psychology sent the Bill of Rights into a tailspin. The first manifestation of the change in the political climate appeared, as usual, in Congress. In 1940 the Smith act was passed, in 1943 the Smith-Connally anti-labor act, in 1947 the Taft-Hartley act, in 1950 the McCarran "concentration-camp" act. Now Congress has just passed another McCarran law against aliens and is debating new Smith legislation directed against labor.

In the meantime the Supreme Court has also steadily whittled away at the Bill of Rights. Decision after decision has imposed limitations on the very civil rights which before 1945 the court had protected and extended. Loyalty oaths have been given the stamp of judicial approval. Men have been imprisoned for the crime of conspiring to "teach" and "advocate." Lawfully resident aliens have been held deportable for their espousal of unorthodox political views even if they had re-

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EARL B. DICKERSON, a member of the Illinois state bar and of the bar of the Supreme Court of the United States, is president of the National Lawyers' Guild. During the war he served on the Fair Employment Practices Committee. This article was originally scheduled for The Nation's *special issue on civil liberties of June 28 but arrived too late to be included.*

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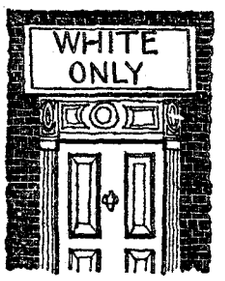
nounced those views before passage of the laws under which their deportation was ordered. Dissemination of opinions by the use of sound trucks—an important medium of communication to minority groups now that most mass-communication media are in the hands of the wealthy—is frowned upon where once it was protected. When the police have considered a speech potentially provocative of violence, they have been upheld by the court in their attempt to preserve order by silencing the speaker instead of by controlling the violence. The court's decision sustaining the Taft-Hartley requirement of a non-Communist affidavit from union officials represented, as Professor Frank has said, "the first case in American history in which belief as such, completely unrelated to individual action of any kind, has been made the basis of limitations on the rights of a citizen."

ALL these developments in Supreme Court doctrine restrict the right of protest against the status quo, effectively deterring the unpopular, the oppressed, the minority from speaking up in favor of change. For Negro citizens, who as the major victims of discrimination have the most vital interest in preserving the broadest freedom to protest, they carry a special threat. In an atmosphere of restraint of free speech only individuals of great courage will speak out vigorously against Jim Crow laws, poll-tax restrictions, and failure to prosecute those who take part in mob violence against Negroes. In short, the attitude of the court casts a shadow of fear even over areas which its decisions do not literally cover.

Paradoxically, however, the same court which has thus emasculated the Bill of Rights has also denied injunctive enforcement of the restrictive covenant. And it has refused to allow the states totally to exclude Negroes from the benefits of higher education made available to other races. Unfortunately, the undeniable progress reflected by these decisions creates the danger that Negroes may look to the court to save them from the evils of an era of repression. That they would find its decisions a slender reed to lean on is apparent from the record.

After the "emancipation" which Negroes thought they had gained from the Civil War, the court soon found formulas for keeping them "in their place." In 1875 the Cruikshank decision construed the civil-rights legislation of the Reconstruction era so restrictively that it was rendered almost meaningless. In 1883 the decision that the Fourteenth Amendment applied only to action by the state and not to action by individuals made the Negro fair prey to a host of discriminations which plague him to this day. And soon the court evolved a mechanism for permitting state governments to discriminate. In 1896, in *Plessy* v. *Ferguson,* it enunciated the "separate but equal doctrine," allowing segregation so long as the separated races were given "equal" treatment. The struggle against discrimination which Negroes have carried on in the courts for the past fifty-six years has been largely a struggle to erase Plessy from the statute books.

It is in the light of that struggle that such recent "advances" as the restrictive-covenant decision and those opening up graduate schools and eliminating "curtained-off" tables in trains must be evaluated. The Sweatt decision in 1950 required admission of Negroes to a white law school in a community where the hastily created Negro school was in fact not equal; the McLaurin decision in the same year compelled equal treatment of the Negro student once he was admitted to the white graduate school. In both cases the court, although strenuously urged to do so, refused to meet the Plessy doctrine head-on and once for all strike it from the law books. Having been allowed to survive for fifty-six years this doctrine has spawned a multitude of laws in the Southern states compelling segregation in schools, libraries, railroad facilities, hospitals, theaters, playgrounds, beaches, restaurants, penal institutions, welfare institutions, voting places, and even telephone booths and lavatories.



AT THE basis of the court's failure to protect Negro rights is its refusal or inability to recognize that due process of law and equal justice are impossible in a climate of opinion which accepts and even exalts segregation. Illustrations of its apparent blindness to this fact are found in the Martinsville Seven and McGee decisions. In both these cases the court was presented with substantive historical evidence that while many Negroes had been put to death following convictions for rape in the prosecuting states, no white person so convicted had ever been executed. It refused, however, to review the sentences, and the Negro defendants were executed.

Clearly the court must be made to see what is becoming increasingly evident to the American people—that the promise of equal justice for all will remain a fiction as long as segregation is tolerated. And as long as Negroes can obtain only unequal justice, the Fourteenth Amendment is deprived of a large part of its intended substance as a guarantor of the rights of national citizenship.

Another challenge to the court to strike Plessy down is presented by two cases awaiting argument in the fall —one from Clarendon County, South Carolina, and one from Kansas. The issue in both is elementary-school segregation, and it will be interesting to see whether a

Johnson City, Tennessee

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majority of the justices will be able to devise a new technique for perpetuating the segregation pattern.

Any action the court has ever taken to protect Negro rights has been slow and grudging. It barred the restrictive covenant only after it had rejected a long series of attempts to have it review the question. Last year it again showed its reluctance to act in timely fashion on issues of long-range importance for the Negro by its refusal to review the Stuyvesant Town decision of the New York Court of Appeals. The lower court had permitted racial discrimination by the private owner of a housing development which had been subsidized with public funds and aided by the state's power of eminent domain. The significance of the refusal to review looms large in the light of the fact that housing developments of this kind are being constructed throughout the country and will constitute an important part of the national housing supply in the next decade. If in some similar situation in the future the court rules against the owner, the decision will represent an empty victory for a Negro population which has been effectively excluded from completed housing.

Many Negro leaders—following Mr. Dooley—believe that the position of the Supreme Court will be determined by the growing political significance of the Negro, both nationally and internationally. On the domestic scene the Negro vote may be decisive in Northern urban centers and is potentially a factor to be considered in some areas of the South. On the international scene American injustice to the Negro has propaganda value for the Kremlin and must therefore be condemned. The Negro is compelled to recognize that he can place less reliance on the good-will of a few appointed justices than on his strength in the political arena. For the development of that strength he must have freedom to organize and freedom to voice his discontents.

The Negro cannot afford, therefore, to isolate his fight for his people's rights from the broader struggle to preserve the protections of the Bill of Rights. He cannot afford to limit his demands to F. E. P. C. legislation, anti-poll-tax measures, anti-lynch laws, and the abolition of segregation, but must join, for his own interest, in the fight for repeal of the Smith act, the McCarran act, and the Taft-Hartley act. Only when there has been created an atmosphere of political liberalism in which men cannot be imprisoned for their political views will the overturn of the *Plessy* v. *Ferguson* decision become inevitable.

Japan—Danger Ahead

BY HIROO MUKAI

THOUGH the peace treaty has become effective and Japan has regained its sovereignty, many Japanese hope that the United States will remain alert to the threat not only of communism but of ultra-nationalism in Japan. Japanese who truly believe in democracy are alarmed at the speed with which the country is returning to its pre-war form and at the influence the ultra-nationalists have already regained. And they are perplexed by the seeming indifference of most Americans, for they know that the revival of ultra-nationalism will be disastrous to Japanese-American relations.

Nearly two thousand rightist organizations are registered today with the Attorney General's Office in Tokyo. This figure proves the right's remarkable comeback, for most of its organizations were dissolved after the nation's defeat in accordance with the government's decision to "exterminate ultra-nationalistic forces," and others dwindled away under the unfavorable conditions then prevailing.

Rightist groups are still careful not to display ultra-nationalism in their platforms; some even use the word "democracy" to camouflage their true objectives. Most of them explicitly support the Emperor system without attempting to revive the mythology of the Emperor's divinity. Many advocate the establishment of a third force in Asia and the development of the Greater Asian doctrine, call for full independence and self-defense, and stress the need for absolute neutrality. Their propaganda is directed especially to the younger generation, emphasizing the important role youth can play in recovering the nation's glory. The current nationalist movement as a whole is said to be more anti-American than anti-Communist; indeed, some organizations have economic platforms which are definitely Marxist. And like the Communists, the nationalists are eager to oust the American troops from Japan. This common aim worries pro-American Japanese, who foresee the possibility of a coalition between the two forces.

The ultra-nationalist elements have benefited by the so-called "depurge," which toward the end of the Occupation restored full freedom of action to more than 90 per cent of the 206,000 former army and navy officers, government officials, politicians, industrialists, jour-

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nalists, and other leaders who had been forbidden to hold public office or participate in political activities. Furthermore, since Japan became independent, the remaining victims of the purge have also been freed from all restrictions. This wholesale reversal of policy was foolish, say many Japanese who believe in democracy. They feel that the confirmed militarists and nationalists should have been differentiated from the men who merely happened to hold key positions during the war and that the latter only should have been cleared.

Their contention is borne out by the arrogance of former military and political leaders, who have not changed their ideas and do not seem to feel any responsibility for their past actions. For instance, Shinsuke Kishi, Tojo's Minister of Commerce and Industry, said recently in an interview with the press: "I feel that I settled all my past accounts during my imprisonment in Sugamo [for three years and three months as a war criminal]. I believe that I am qualified openly to advocate the rebuilding of Japan. I am not going to trouble about [my past record]." Sometimes it seems that the purge has merely served to add the glamour of martyrdom to its objects.

THE post-war world situation proved a boon to the revival of ultra-nationalism in Japan. As a result of the tension between the Western democracies and the Soviet Union, the Occupation placed increasing weight on anti-Communist measures, especially after the outbreak of fighting in Korea. Its policy of fighting Communist propaganda by stressing the spirit of national unity and appealing to the traditional patriotism of the people made things easy for the rightists. The precise point at which a healthy spirit of national unity becomes extreme nationalism is hard to determine, and the line of demarcation between patriotism and jingoism or chauvinism is obscure.

The problem of Japan's self-defense is giving former military leaders the opportunity to get together and develop group strength. Their professional knowledge and experience are speedily gaining importance, for military strategy and tactics are considered beyond the scope of a layman. The National Police Reserve, soon to be reorganized under a Bureau of Security, has become a good rallying point for the nationalists, although General MacArthur could not have intended it to be such when he authorized its creation in the summer of 1950. Defined at the time as an "auxiliary to the National Rural Police and the Municipal Police within the limits necessary for maintaining peace and order and guaranteeing the welfare of the public," it has steadily acquired the features of an army.

Whether or not Japan embarks upon a program of full rearmament, the controversy has already brought about active cooperation between naval and military leaders and the more important political parties. Admiral Kichisaburo Nomura, ambassador to the United States at the outbreak of war, is said to be advising the Liberal Party on reorganizing the National Police Reserve into a security force. Lieutenant General Eiichi Tatsumi and Rear Admiral Yoshio Yamamoto are also linked to this attempt to bypass the issue of revising the Constitution, as would be necessary for a program of full rearmament. The Progressive Party, led by the wartime Foreign Minister Mamoru Shigemitsu, advocates full reconstruction of military forces and is advised by Lieutenant Colonel Hattori, former secretary of Tojo, with the support of Generals Arisue, Inada, and Kamata. These cordial relations between the military leaders and the political parties seem ominous to many Japanese. There is always the danger, it is felt, that the former army and navy leaders will become more interested in reestablishing a fascist regime than in building up national self-defense.

The issue of rearmament is of course a delicate one. In the face of current realities and needs it is hard to oppose the arguments in favor. As a sovereign nation Japan cannot depend indefinitely upon the United States for its security, and the moral and spiritual effect of having even a nominal means of self-protection cannot be overlooked. Furthermore, public sentiment in the United States may call for a rearmed Japan to perform its duties in securing peace in the Pacific area. Yet Japanese democrats cannot overcome their fear that full rearmament will permit the revival of ultra-nationalism. It will be argued, they believe, that for the sake of a uniform and consistent policy the armed forces should not be controlled by the Prime Minister; and that in view of the need to keep the army and navy free from political influences, the Diet should not have any direct power over them. Next, the nationalists are expected to assert that unity and high morale can be attained only with the Emperor as supreme commander, and then of course they will point out that if the Emperor is to exercise his powers as supreme commander he must have some control over the government. In this way the old Emperor system will eventually be reestablished and the present sovereignty of the people be lost.

The ultra-nationalist elements, the believers in democracy know, will make full use of any means available. They will urge anti-communism, praise the idea of a family nation centering in the Emperor, emphasize the inefficiency of democratic procedures in government, denounce any excessive use of freedom, and constantly appeal to the masses' nostalgic memories of the nation's pre-war power. Their aims will be disguised as Japanese democracy, and it will be hard for their opponents to point out the deception. Many liberal-minded col-

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lege professors, writers, and commentators are anticipating the day when the ultra-nationalists will accuse them of being Communists, radicals, or fellow-travelers. They realize that the task of keeping Japan truly democratic will be made more difficult by the people's inherent sympathy with nationalism. But they are determined to protect the new democracy and keep the country a true friend of the United States and the other Western nations. The only thing they ask of the United States is moral and spiritual support. They hope that the American people will keep a watchful eye upon Japan and criticize reactionary tendencies as they appear.

Freedom in Book and Classroom

The Right to Read

BY DAVID K. BERNINGHAUSEN

LOUD voices in America are demanding that American libraries copy the methods of Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia and ban certain expressions of opinion. The American Library Association, an organization of 21,000 professional librarians, has officially taken the opposite position. On June 28 and 29 its Committee on Intellectual Freedom sponsored a conference on censorship problems at the New York Bar Association in New York.

William Dix, committee chairman, opened the meetings by saying that the librarian's professional function is to disseminate information on all sides of every issue. At the same time, he declared, he would not want his library used as a tool by Communists or by any other group which denied the fundamental thesis of a free society—that truth must have complete freedom to combat error in the market-place of ideas. Mr. Dix cited the Library Bill of Rights, adopted in 1939 and reaffirmed in 1948, which may be summarized as follows: Books and other reading matter should be chosen on the basis of interest, information, and enlightenment of all the people of the community. In no case should a book be excluded because of the race, nationality, or political or religious views of the author. All points of view—international, national, and local—concerning the problems of our times, should be presented as fully as possible, and no books or other reading matter of sound factual authority should be proscribed or removed from library shelves for partisan or doctrinal reasons. Censorship of books, as urged or practiced by volunteer arbiters of morals or political opinion or by organizations that would establish a coercive concept of Americanism, must be challenged by libraries in discharge of their responsibility to provide information through the printed word.

Dr. Julian Boyd, librarian of Princeton University and an authority on Thomas Jefferson, asserted that the censors of today are the real un-Americans, the true subversives. Alan Barth, editorial writer on the Washington *Post,* said caustically, "We used to be derisive and poke fun at the Soviet's iron curtain, but that was before we perceived the virtues of their course of action and paid them the flattering compliment of copying them." The McCarran curtain, he added, imposes much the same restrictions as the iron curtain. The thesis of John E. Smith, of the library of the University of California in Los Angeles, was that there is no such thing as good or wise censorship. Mr. Smith put it this way: "I have little fear that lurid comics or trashy fiction or *'Washington Confidential'* will corrupt us as long as the channels of communication are kept free. I have great fear, on the other hand, that censorship, official or unofficial, would quickly corrupt us all." Donald Klopfer of Random House stressed the common stake of all publishers, writers, and librarians in maintaining freedom of inquiry. "Freedom is indeed dangerous," he said; "free circulation of everyone's ideas means risks. But I am utterly convinced that far greater dangers to our whole way of life, to everything that we hold dear, arise from suppression of ideas."

American librarians are thoroughly awake to their responsibility to preserve our traditional freedom to read and judge for ourselves. During the past five difficult years they have worked hard to encourage all Americans to examine their heritage of freedom. This year they have promoted reading and discussion groups under the American Heritage Project, financed by the Ford Foundation. Librarians hope that the basic policies of the profession will help American libraries to remain free. It was stressed throughout the conference that these policies are designed not to protect librarians but to protect the right of every citizen to read anything he wishes.

On the question of labeling books, the A. L. A.'s position has been formulated as follows:

> Librarians should not use the technique of labeling as a means of predisposing readers against library materials. Although totalitarian states find it easy and even proper, according to their ethics, to establish criteria for judging publications as "subversive," injustice and ignorance rather than justice and enlightenment result from such practices, and the American Library Association has a responsibility to take a stand against the establishment of such criteria in a democratic state. Libraries do not

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advocate the ideas found in their collections. The presence of a magazine or book in a library does not indicate an indorsement of its content by the library. . . . Although we are all agreed that communism is a threat to the free world, if materials are labeled to pacify one group, there is no excuse for refusing to label any item in the library's collection. Because communism, fascism, or other authoritarianisms tend to suppress ideas and attempt to coerce individuals to conform to a specific ideology, American librarians must be opposed to any other group which aims at closing any path to knowledge.

Mr. Barth summarized the problem in these words:

I agree that the danger is very great, and I think that you as members of a profession need to close ranks, need to come together in the large area in which you have agreement, to resist what Professor Chafee calls "a barbarian invasion," to resist the ground swell of know-nothingism which is attacking all ideas and which is attacking the central idea of American life—that men have a right to hold and to express ideas no matter how unorthodox they may be. . . . It seems to me that it is to the preservation of this freedom that you owe your first obligation, that the real and the essential loyalty of free men everywhere is a loyalty to the illimitable freedom of the human mind.

The Right to Teach

BY A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

Detroit

AT THE ninetieth annual convention of the National Education Association, held here last week, the N. E. A.'s Commission for Defense of Democracy Through Education issued a blast against the "numerous misstatements of fact and the usual shopworn clichés" which appeared in Your Child Is Their Target, an article attacking modern education and the N. E. A. in the June issue of the *American Legion Magazine*. Similar charges were passed as resolutions by two local Legion posts.

Taking stock of the war against the public schools, Dr. Robert A. Skaife, the commission's field secretary, reported on the "ignominious" defeats recently inflicted on the self-styled critics of public education by alert citizenries in Scarsdale, New York, and Ferndale, Michigan. Dr. Skaife thought it necessary, however, to add the warning that "when teachers have to work in an atmosphere [of smears and suspicion], sometimes they get cold feet."

This theme was enlarged on in coffee-shop sessions. Delegates told of the hollow "victory" won in Montgomery County, Maryland, where despite the continuance in office of the school administration under fire, "the curriculum has been set back ten years." In Scarsdale many of the "victorious" teachers are at present looking elsewhere for employment. In Sunnyside, Washington, the Superintendent of Schools and—according to reports—85 of the total school personnel of 135 voluntarily resigned. In Denver the school administration, after being vindicated, yielded to continuing pressure and removed "subversive" Public Affairs Pamphlets from general-circulation library shelves. One educator said, "We've been beating them since Pasadena, but they just won't be licked. They've got important friends."

Apparently the school teachers of America will not be licked either. During the past year of attacks, N. E. A. membership has been steadily zooming toward the million mark.

Music to Remember

BY ARNOLD SILVER

Prades, France

ALL over Paris today one finds chalked on the walls of houses, of the Sorbonne, of ministry offices, the shrill scrawl "Go Home Americans" or variations thereof. In the past few weeks, of course, this has been accompanied by the angrier phrase "Libérez Duclos." Yet here in Prades, a small town in southern France, the first sign that greets the visitor's eye reads "Bienvenue—Welcome." There is substantial Communist sentiment here, despite considerable wealth, but the people have been occupied with an event that transcends politics—even though it has its political moral. Prades has been having its third Festival of Music and celebrating the seventy-fifth anniversary of the great cellist in exile, Pablo Casals.

Held in the tenth-century Abbey of St. Michel de Cuxa, part of which has been transported to the Cloisters Museum in New York, the two-week festival—it ended June 29—attracted about twenty-five hundred visitors from twenty-eight countries, the largest foreign contingent coming from the United States. We shared, too, first rank in the number of musicians sent over—Stern, Istomin, and Katims among others. Perhaps the most moving aspect of the occasion was its combination of fraternalism and internationalism. Musicians and listeners joined in a true brotherhood that expressed the root ideal of religion.

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Of the concerts themselves, which were devoted to the chamber music of Bach, Schumann, Schubert, and Brahms, one can say little without recourse to superlatives. The division of the program among the four composers was perhaps too even; one wished for more Schubert and less Brahms. But never was Brahms played so magnificently. Most of the artists were distinguished soloists—Szigeti, Myra Hess, Horszowski, Tortelier, Tourel—and the ensemble rapport was singularly distinguished. There were no virtuosi here; the musicians served as instruments of the music. As has often been said, when one plays with Casals it is the music that is supreme. Yet these performances have an ineffable quality that almost transcends the music. One forgets that it is the Schumann piano quintet which is being played; one is conscious of hardly more than a sort of mystic tranquility. Returning slowly from other universes, the audience has difficulty in rousing itself to applaud. More eloquent than any applause are the eerie sighs heard in the inter-movement pauses and the soft radiance on people's faces.

Pablo Casals

If anything, there is too much music at each concert; the evening moves through a series of exhausting climaxes. Afterward the musicians, too, seem languid—with the exception of the remarkably recharged Alexander Schneider, the violinist who is the true father of these festivals, since it was he who persuaded Casals to come out of semi-retirement. Casals himself is playing with superb vigor and control. At the Bach festival of two years ago the pressures on him were almost unbearable, and an occasional tautness could be heard in his playing. Last season's responsibilities as conductor were wearying in another way. Now he is more quietly relaxed, and those who heard him before the Spanish war agree that his playing and interpretative taste have never been so great.

Nor, one believes, could it be otherwise. For over the past fifteen years Pablo Casals has achieved greatness as a man. In our forgetful present he is one of the few noble reminders of the continuing resistance against the continuing menace of fascism. His aid to the Spanish refugees, of course, has been incalculable—materially and symbolically. And his warmth and love weave a web around all who approach him. His disciples respond to him in a way that can only be observed in their musical development. Eugene Istomin, for example, who stays for long periods in Prades, has developed an impressive maturity in interpretation in the past three years under Casals' tutelage.

THE people of the region also respond to Casals' humanity, generosity, and sweetness. The celebration of his birthday was their tribute to the man whom they revere. After the Mayor's speech, Catalonian dancers, some from towns fifty miles away, fêted the master with a colorful and vigorous display of native dancing. This is a proud people—they insist they are Catalonians first and Frenchmen or Spaniards second—possessing an ancient and distinctive culture. Regional flags of red and gold are everywhere in evidence, against the imposing background of the Pyrenees. Casals has a passionate devotion to the place and the people, and he insists that a true internationalism can be born only of deep local attachments. There is a real affinity between the rugged countryside and his own robust musicianship.

In his moving birthday address Casals declared that he was "a child of seventy-five," that humility and reverence for life are the touchstones for mankind, and that only love and kindness can save our tortured world. He brings us this message most clearly when he is at the cello, not only by his playing but by the subtle beauty of his face. Then his benign but unprepossessing presence achieves a rare attractiveness. His expression is truly child-like—alert, attentive. It has much wonder in it; he seems to be listening for something, to be waiting with an endless patience.

At rehearsals one has the privilege of seeing the effect of his humaneness. Joy and humor pervade the players and make the time pass unremarked. The musicians offer their interpretations of a particular passage with genial artistry. Usually Casals agrees; occasionally he will take up his bow and play a violin or viola part, giving his own consummate interpretation. "This" he suggests with shy insistence, "is the design, the meaning." And the next night one hears the passage played as if that were the only way it could be played. On that next night the musicians are no longer in sport shirts, Casals leaves his pipe in the dressing-room, the joking and exclamations of approval are muted; but unity and camaraderie flow out from the strings, and the seemingly effortless artistry overwhelms the audience.

At this festival even the weary and the cynical gain a renewed hope for humanity. The compassionate vigor of Casals' and the others' creativity is one of the few remaining evidences of the unsullied benefits of civilization. One wonders wistfully whether our present truculent paralysis might not be mitigated if the tired diplomats of the Big Four could hold a conference immediately after attending these concerts. Certainly the most rough-skinned diplomat would be affected by the wisdom and beauty of Casals' spirit.

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Wanted: Grass-Roots Leadership

BY WOODRUFF RANDOLPH

This article by the president of the powerful International Typographical Union, A. F. of L., is one of a series in The Nation *(Labor Views the Campaigns, May 10, and What Labor Wants, June 14) presenting the views of organized labor on the major issues of the Presidential campaign.*

THE progress in education and science made during the past hundred years provides an opportunity to the working people of our democratic country to attain a better life and safeguard the political rights through which progress may be continued. But that very progress could conceivably be used to establish a police state. The outcome will be determined by the amount of sound thinking done by our people.

The industrial history of this country and of the world reveals the selfish role played by the owning and controlling fraction of the population. Another "depression" is inevitable when present government expenditures for defense are drastically curtailed or discontinued. It is inevitable because the vast numbers employed in producing and distributing war supplies cannot be immediately shifted to the production of consumer goods. Even if they could be so shifted, the market could not absorb such a large increase in consumers' goods.

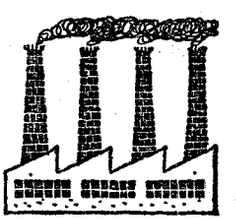
Is anyone so naive as to suppose that business would on its own initiative reduce hours of work so as to absorb the unemployed, and at the same time keep the earning power of labor high enough to enable it to buy what is produced? Is anyone so demagogic as to claim that the surplus could be exported to the millions in want all over the world, when, under our capitalist system, it is obvious that there can be no foreign trade unless imports—in money or goods—equal exports? The debts which foreign countries owed us after World War I were canceled precisely because we refused to wreck our economy by accepting the only form of payment available—that is, goods.

All this points to the plain fact that the politicians who are now vilifying the New Deal and the Fair Deal are willing to allow the unrestricted exploitation of the people by corporations grown so powerful that they exercise more control over our destinies than does the government itself. It points to the need for ward and precinct meetings of people of both political parties to study ways and means to solve our economic problems through the proper over-all regulation of corporate activity.

The overriding issue now is whether the American people can avoid a backward step into the pre-New Deal era of economic feudalism. The New Deal gave the workers protection from company spies, private police, and hired thugs and established their right to organize and bargain through representatives of their own choosing. But these gains are now endangered by the return of the labor injunction, the use of legal procedures which compel unions to engage lawyers to answer fantastic charges brought by employers, lawsuits for damages claimed to be due to the workers' exercise of their right to strike, and the increase of bureaucratic control over economic matters.

Will the American people finally realize that capitalism—private ownership of property and production for profit—cannot be regulated in the public interest so long as those who control most media of publicity smear any attempt at government regulation of corporations as "creeping socialism"? Can the American people be brought to realize that our war economy enriches big business, lowers the average standard of living, and subjects everyone to the witch-hunting tactics of loud-mouthed demagogues who themselves enjoy legislative immunity? Will the American people realize quickly enough that economics and politics are inseparable?

The great issue of the 1952 political campaign is not the personalities of the candidates but the direction in which they will move. The Taft group has its eyes on the past. The Eisenhower group looks for something different and believes that somehow it can be attained. The Democrats were unable to make good on the promises of their 1950 platform but hope to do so if given another chance.



There is not enough grass-roots strength to win the election against the power of big money. The Taft-Hartley law and the tidelands oil grab are proof enough. The progress made by the big-money people in their effort to obtain the approval of state legislatures for a constitutional amendment to limit the income tax to 25 per cent shows the astounding extent of their influence. The Dixiecrats and Republicans have evidently the same source of funds; so have the million-dollar lobbies.

There is no doubt about the direction that these sinister influences intend to force our economy to take. With few competent leaders lined up on an equally clear opposing course of action, matters are bound to get worse before another economic catastrophe forces a change for the better.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Our Religious Conflict

BY WILLIAM H. KILPATRICK

A CATHOLIC SPEAKS HIS MIND ON AMERICA'S RELIGIOUS CONFLICT. By Thomas Sugrue. Harper and Brothers. $1.

CATHOLICISM AND AMERICAN FREEDOM. By James M. O'Neill. Harper and Brothers. $3.50.

THESE two books deal with the same problem, "America's religious conflict," and each is written by an American-born "Irish Catholic." But their answers differ almost completely. Mr. Sugrue regrets that the conflict exists. Moreover, he criticizes the American leaders of his church for their share in creating the conflict, and he believes that the solution lies in a more Christian approach by both sides. Mr. O'Neill writes more as the partisan defender, saying explicitly that he is answering "current attacks on American Catholics as enemies of American freedom." He names Paul Blanshard's "American Freedom and Catholic Power" as "the most elaborate current attack." His purpose is "not that everyone should believe in the Catholic Church, but that no one should believe in Mr. Blanshard."

Mr. Sugrue begins by saying that for a Catholic to criticize publicly anything Catholic is not only to break a four-hundred-year-old taboo but also to provoke denunciation of himself as "anti-Catholic," especially "among those Catholics who dominate the American Church." "The damage" of this taboo, "within the Church," he counts to be "incalculable."

He further states that "the Irish clergy" dominate the American church, "its organization, its hierarchy, its point of view," and that as a result the church is used to foster certain "social, economic, and political ambitions," specifically to raise the status of the Irish and other immigrant groups to power and influence. This concern of the Irish clergy with secular affairs dates, he asserts, from the Kinsale defeat (1601), after which Catholicism in Ireland was "transformed into a national religion." Transferred to America, this conception of the church led to "competition with Protestants" for power and influence.

The "competition" was of course increased by the too frequent tendency—not yet dead—in old-stock American Protestants to look down on Irish and other immigrants as inferior. The result, Mr. Sugrue says, is that "the old feeling" among immigrant Catholics of "not belonging and not being wanted" has developed in increasing degree into "a separatist tendency" toward organizations whose names "begin with the word 'Catholic.'" The corollary result is that Protestants see "behind the scarlet curtain of elaborate rituals, communion breakfast," and the like an efficient "pressure group . . . driving toward social and political power." Moreover, these organizations give "religious allegiance" to a foreign spiritual leader who with his predecessors claims a mission "assigned to them by God" to "convert the world to their faith and their rule." This, Mr. Sugrue adds, is what "worries the Protestants and it should."

MR. O'NEILL is the devoted advocate. To consider in detail his vigorous attack on Mr. Blanshard would require a book. This discussion must be limited, therefore, to certain of his more general positions.

The "historical record" given here will not commend itself to all. That America was discovered by Catholics has little pertinence, nor that Catholic settlements in Florida and New Mexico preceded Jamestown and Plymouth Rock. That Catholic leaders in Maryland supported the liberal provisions of the Constitution and its Bill of Rights calls attention rather to the previous denial to them of such rights than to any liberal attitude on their part. The Enlightenment might well have been mentioned as influencing Franklin and Washington in their liberal attitude toward Catholics and others; certainly it influenced Jefferson and Madison in their stand for an effective separation of church and state.

Mr. O'Neill strongly rejects the Supreme Court decision in the McCollum case, claiming that no one has ever interpreted the First Amendment as this decision did or ever so acted upon it; but his attack on the majority justices, especially Justice Black and Justice Rutledge, is not convincing. To say that the First Amendment did "create a complete and permanent separation of the spheres of religious activity and civil authority" may be open to criticism, but Mr. O'Neill's answer overlooks crucial elements. In fact, the background essential to an understanding of the present status of the Constitution is practically ignored by Mr. O'Neill: how Madison, who steered the wording and the adoption of the First Amendment, had, with Jefferson, Mason, and others, thought through the matter to a fully sensitive democratic conclusion (and the same as that stated by Rutledge); how the several states, prior to the Fourteenth Amendment, had gone farther in separating church and state than the provision of the original First Amendment; how after the Fourteenth Amendment the Supreme Court extended its influence to the First Amendment. These things Mr. O'Neill disregards.

IN THIS connection it may not be out of place to say a word on democracy and moral obligation. Were there no explicit constitutional provision requiring the separation of church and state, the moral demands of a sensitive democracy facing the religious diversity of America would seem to demand such separation. The principles of respect for personality and the equality of rights require it. It seems incredible that many people of various faiths can fail to see the selfishness of demanding that public schools teach their particular religion.

Mr. O'Neill's discussion of Catholic education also leaves out important considerations. It is quite true that American freedom allows any who wish to support their own chosen schools. It is

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also true that certain non-public schools have rendered invaluable service to the cause of education. But freedom is not absolute. I may if I wish stop and chat with a friend on Fifth Avenue; it is my right. But if a thousand free citizens should chose the same busy hour and place to stop and confer, the police would, justifiably, force them to move on. Freedom is limited both morally and legally.

The existence of separatist groups, not understanding each other and not cooperating, is very hurtful to democracy. Europe abounds in such groups. America has hitherto been powerfully assimilative, the public school aiding materially. But suppose that a significant proportion of citizens, feeling themselves different and wishing to strengthen and perpetuate their difference, should decide to exercise their freedom and build separate schools for their children. Many of the well-to-do in the Northeast have done just that. Franklin D. Roosevelt, a true liberal, attended such private schools; and in the judgment of many, when he faced the CCC and the NYA he disclosed a lack of faith in the public high school. President Conant probably had these considerations in mind in his recent startling stand against divisive blocs in America.

Still other discussions by Mr. O'Neill seem inadequate—for example, those on Catholic censorship and Catholic social policies. That Catholic authorities are as free as anybody else to "criticize, condemn, or indorse" any book or play or movie goes without saying. But here again a group as an efficient bloc can transcend the individual moral freedom of democratic society. If any bloc has, and uses, political power to enforce its judgment on those who are not members of its group; or if the bloc is able, and is willing, to use the threat of boycott to prevent a newspaper from advertising a book which the bloc does not like—then, under such conditions, the moral infringement upon the rights of others becomes a serious question.

Mr. Sugrue thinks that the only solution to this problem of religious conflict is that a sufficient number of both Catholics and Protestants, acting as individuals, "*live* the Sermon on the Mount." Existing organizations, he thinks, cannot cooperate, but individuals can. Possibly this is the answer.

Tito's Rebellion

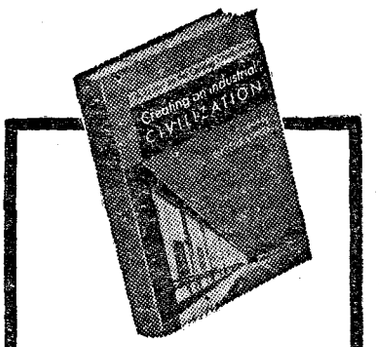
TITOISM AND THE COMINFORM. By Adam B. Ulam. Harvard University Press. $4.

THE year that followed Moscow's break with Tito found me traveling in Yugoslavia and the neighboring Cominform countries. As I now look through my old notebooks, I find in them a record of total confusion. Most of the people still could not believe that there had been a genuine break. Many others were utterly confused, as millions of Russians must have been in the mid-twenties on learning of Stalin's open clash with Trotsky.

What the people—up to the highest level—knew was only what they had read in the published correspondence between Moscow and Belgrade. Seven months after the break a leading Bulgarian party philosopher still kept trying, in an interview, to magnify the petty Soviet grievances, detailed in the published letters, into a major conflict of faith. Conversely, a year after the break, a member of the Yugoslav Central Committee still talked to me as if reconciliation with Russia were near; and I recall how shocked a Macedonian party leader was when an emotional orator at a mass-meeting made unkind references to Stalin's moustache. In a sentence, many months after the break, the Cominform parties still did not know precisely why the lightning had struck, and the Yugoslav Communists still believed the damage was not permanent.

There was something else. Wherever one searched for it—in interviews, oratory, or published documents—there was no sign of any genuine dispute over belief and policy. Efforts were made to show that Tito had committed grave ideological errors and refused to recant. But these efforts were belated and clumsy. Sofia's charges were often the exact opposite of those made in Budapest. And if any charge held true against Tito, it also held true against many of his critics. As one sifted the accusations, one could not help feeling that they had nothing to do with Communist dogma. What they obviously sought to do was to give some sort of ideological underpinnings to a conflict that had none.

These personal impressions are cited here because they add eyewitness testi-



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mony to the evidence marshaled in Professor Adam B. Ulam's new work. The only major Communist tenet at issue in the Tito affair, Professor Ulam argues, was the principle of Moscow's dominance over foreign Communist parties. This principle was not challenged in the other Balkan countries, where the party leaders arrived with the Red Army and were able to operate under a benevolent Russian eye. But in Yugoslavia, Tito was very much on the scene when the Soviet forces arrived, and he had a powerful army of his own. Tito did not deny Moscow's leadership. He himself had been a professional Comintern agent, sent to Yugoslavia in 1937 to purge the party of Trotskyites. But after the war new factors had emerged. One, Professor Ulam shows, was that, in the process of fighting a war, the Yugoslav party had created a political and military apparatus as tight and efficient as its Soviet prototype. Another factor was that this network—the party, the army, the secret police—was loyal to Tito, and led by his own men. Finally, Tito and his aides could see no ideological excuse for Moscow's almost mechanical effort to take over control of this apparatus. They were devoted Communists. But they wanted a good doctrinal explanation of why Yugoslavia's interests had to be automatically subordinated to those of Moscow.

"Had the Russians employed diplomacy," Professor Ulam suggests, "Tito's Yugoslavia would still be the most faithful ally of the Soviet Union." But the Russians did not employ diplomacy. They could not organically, for this was not the way the Bolshevik Party had been functioning since 1928. Thus came compulsion and subversion—both of which failed. Tito and his aides began by blocking Soviet moves; by 1948 they were fighting for their political—and probably physical—survival. And while they long, and naively, hoped that Moscow might compromise, they found themselves pushed by Soviet pressure ever closer to the West, which they did not understand and whose motives they suspected.

Moscow blundered in Yugoslavia. (As late as 1950, it was still convinced that the Yugoslav Communists would unseat Tito.) But having made the original blunder, the author says, it could not alter its prime political tenet. Wherever Communist leaders wavered, or merely seemed to waver, in their obedience to the Bolshevik Party, the "Titoist infection" was burned out. Kostov was executed because he kept from the Russians the price offered by the West for Bulgarian tobacco. Gomulka was destroyed because he saw Poland as a partner in a Communist bloc rather than as a satellite—and the grim account of his fall forms one of the most significant and best-documented chapters in this admirable study.

Professor Ulam's book is not for the amateur in the history of communism. It is too rich in minor detail, too involved in its analysis. But for the political scientist, or even for a careful newspaper reader, it offers treasures. For though one may disagree with some of the author's conclusions, one cannot but be impressed by the weight of evidence he presents, or be fascinated following him through the labyrinth of Communist politics—Soviet, Yugoslav, and Polish—through charges and countercharges, through Machiavellian intrigue, plot, purge, and fantastic trial. Until Moscow and Belgrade throw open their archives, this book is likely to be the best account available of one of the greatest crises ever experienced by the Communist movement. MARK GAYN

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Verse Chronicle

SIMPLY and quietly entitled "In the House and Out," Samuel Yellen's first book of poems (Indiana University Press, $2.75) shapes up, on second or third reading, as far from simple and rather disquieting. Many of these poems we have noticed as they appeared in the *New Yorker*, the quarterlies, and elsewhere; they had engaging qualities—craftsmanship, variety, information, ironic wit as well as a blander humor, an awareness of the self which did not estimate that self too precious, gentleness, wisdom. What we did not sense, reading the poems as separate items, was the force with which they convey the impression that neither in the house nor out is there much comfort or security. These poems apprehend, in both senses of the word, and their impact is the more forceful because the sense of peril is presented entirely without hysteria. Nor is the language the fashionable patter of penthouse anxiety. You must not, however, get the idea that this is a gloomy book; Mr. Yellen does not break up his lines to weep. Two delightful lyrics, Song Without Black Notes and Lullaby, show what Mr. Yellen can do in the untroubled vein; among the others I have particularly enjoyed First Grade, Room I, South Case School; The Convex Mirror; The Emmet ("I felt I was becoming scientifically interesting"); As I was walking down Fifth Avenue; the two horoscope poems; Personal. And others.

Per contra, "Rendezvous in a Landscape," by August Derleth (Fine Editions Press, $2.50), seems rather facile. This young man (b. 1909) appears, in twenty-five years, to have written more

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books than any man in America with the possible exception of Robert P. Tristram Coffin. The verse in this collection is pleasant enough, considerably influenced, as the author's homage acknowledges, by Robert Frost:

He spoke of what was in the quiet wood
and what lingered at the brook
as much as telling a man
to stop and take a longer look

Yes; but the longer look seems less worth pausing for than in the case of Mr. Yellen.

Number 66 in the Second Series of the University of Maine Studies is devoted to the life and works of Frederick Goddard Tuckerman, an American sonneteer. The author is Samuel A. Golden, the price $1. Mr. Golden does not intend the word sonneteer invidiously; he seems to feel, as did Witter Bynner some years ago, that Tuckerman has been unfairly neglected, but it would look, from the passages quoted, as if Fame's incorruptible silence had been about the right judgment. On the other hand, the life of Tuckerman as it comes through these pages has considerable interest: there could be a good quiet novel in it about this assiduous, unhappy, mildly talented little man energetically cultivating the indorsement of Tennyson, Emerson, Hawthorne, bearing his sorrows and solitude bravely, doing the best he could with his endowment. It is nasty of me, I suppose, to make an association between this study and Number 50 in the series, the one about Gymnosporangium Rusts and Their Host Relationships.

"Secular Lyrics of the XIVth and XVth Centuries," edited by Rossell Hope Robbins (Oxford University Press, $3.50), "adds another volume to the series of Middle English lyric collections begun by Professor Carleton Brown." Ye auntient spellynges and the use of letters now disappeared from our alphabet make this scholarly volume a little formidable to read through at one session; but take your time with it and you will find some delightful numbers, and a refreshing sense of the gaiety of the world in a time that may have been, really, a good deal less secure than our own. Skip blithely, as these folks did, and you should get quite a bit of fun out of this collection.

Two other items might be called to your attention if you are planning more serious summer reading: "Contemporary French Poetry," by Joseph Chiari, with a Foreword by T. S. Eliot (Philosophical Library, $3.75); and "Firebird, a Study of D. H. Lawrence," by Dallas Kenmare (also Philosophical Library, $2.75). The latter is concerned with Lawrence as poet primarily. I hope to have further comment on these two items later. ROLFE HUMPHRIES

Books in Brief

SPQR. By Paul Hyde Bonner. Scribner's. $3. A contrived, unconvincing novel set in today's Rome, where a U. S. Embassy first secretary, Lovat Fraser, tries to cope with high intrigue, political and romantic. He is supposed, God help us, to have a tie-in with Central Intelligence too. A three-dimensional politico-priest, Irish as Mayor Curley, an American-born countess and a handful of sketchy characters from Vatican society, *l'aristocrazia nera,* complete the cast. Oh yes, there is a ubiquitous American bum, a guy on the make, who is reputed to spend his time—for a fee—in ladies' boudoirs and who did not go to the right schools but who manages, most of the time, to imitate the right accent. The clash between communism and democracy is at the bottom of it all, but in Mr. Bonner's forest of the night it all seems pretty small game, when it is not merely pretentious. Rome was never like this, even for the Americans. And as for Author Bonner's Italian politicians, let's spell out the title to read *Sono Profanati Questi Romani!*

THE TROUBLE-MAKERS. An Anti-Defamation League Report. By Arnold Forster and Benjamin R. Epstein. Doubleday. $3.50. A Who's Who and What They Do of the purveyors of prejudice and the sowers of confusion at work in this country. They range from benighted crackpots to respectables in high places, and one of the most interesting things in the book is its demonstration of how these disparate elements are mobilized and used by cynical middle men whose ultimate aim is pelf or power. Unfortunately these middle men often win their objectives by default —because people who should and do know better lack the will or courage to fight back. Two who fought back are Anna M. Rosenberg and Loretta Chappell and the accounts of their counter-attacks make excellent reading. The book as a whole is effective because the drama is in the material and the writing is calm. It contains chapters on the use of bigotry in elections in various states, on "restricted" housing and hotels, on the activities of the Arab League in this country, on the Communist brand of trouble-making. A penultimate chapter deals with the ordeal of the Clarks in Cicero, the anti-Semitic outbursts in Boston and the attacks on synagogues in various cities, the murder of the Moores in Florida. The book ends, nevertheless, with a

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measured note of hope. The authors point out that the perpetrators of violence have gained no mass of adherents and they maintain that "never in all the history of our land has there been such widespread recognition of the peril of uncontrolled prejudice, bigotry, and group tension." What is even more essential is widespread and vigorous resistance.

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

THE Haydn Society has issued the Schneider Quartet's performances of Haydn's Quartets Opus 1 Nos. "0," 1, 2, 3, 4, and 6—No. "0" being Haydn's actual first quartet, and the omitted No. 5 being, in Tovey's opinion, Haydn's first symphony. For all their small scale and early style they are engaging pieces, with the playfulness and little surprises characteristic of Haydn, and with minuet movements that often astonish one with trio sections that provide the outstanding moments of the work. The playing is very fine and well reproduced except for the wiry violin sound and recurrent scrape in the first couple of movements of No. 4.

Two of the finest of Haydn's mature works, the Symphonies Nos. 100 ("Military") and 104, are on a London record, played by the London Philharmonic—the first under Van Beinum's direction, the second under Krips's. Van Beinum's tempos for the introduction, the second movement, and the finale of No. 100 are unusually—but not unacceptably or ineffectively—fast; bass must be reduced, violins in loud passages are veiled, and there is a loss of brightness in the second half of the work. Krips's tempo for the second movement of No. 104 is too fast for the proper effect of the music (achieved so wonderfully by the old Fischer performance), but otherwise the performance is good; bass must be reduced, the sound becomes dim in the second half of the first movement, and it is veiled in the third movement.

Urania offers four of Handel's Sonatas for two violins and figured bass—Opus 2, Nos. 4, 8, and 9, and Opus 5 No. 3—played by Willy and Margarete Schweyda with Jan Behr, pianist. The first three works are very fine; the last I don't find interesting. The performances are good except for the lusterless tone of one of the violinists; they are reproduced with sharpness that requires drastic reduction of treble.

Prokofiev's Symphony No. 6 is elaborately contrived for portentous utterance which I find unconvincing. Ansermet's performance with L'Orchestre de la Suisse romande on the London record is superb and magnificently reproduced—with, among other things, the fuller and more lustrous violin sound that London has begun to achieve.

"Orchestral Music" (Oxford, $9) is a compilation of Lawrence Gilman's program notes for the concerts of the New York Philharmonic and Philadelphia Orchestras, supplemented by some of his articles and reviews in the New York *Herald Tribune*. Those who agree with the compiler, Edward Cushing, about the distinction of Gilman's writing (I do not agree), and who may be interested in the book, should know one thing about it. Mr. Cushing informs us that he has interpolated some material of his own, between identifying signs, but "only where material appropriate to the scheme of this book was not available in Gilman's writings." His idea seems to be that where the scheme of the book is that comments on a composer's works are preceded by a general estimate of his stature, achievement, and place, and where Gilman's writings don't provide such an estimate, it is necessary and legitimate to supply one. But it seems to me that the basic scheme of the book is that it offers Gilman's writing, and that it should offer this writing when it is available, or none. The necessity in this book is not of a general estimate of Mahler but of Gilman's general estimate; if he didn't happen to write one there is no necessity requiring the interpolation of someone else's, and no legitimacy in an interpolated estimate containing the statement "the belief grows that he was one of the giants" in the face of the disbelief expressed in Gilman's comments on Mahler's symphonies.

Moreover, encountering Mr. Cushing's interpolated estimates of Beethoven, of Brahms, of Wagner, I wondered whether it could be true that in all the years of Gilman's writing there had been no occasion which had led him to write about these composers in general terms. What, for example, about the fiftieth anniversary of Wagner's death? The notes for the New York Philharmonic's Wagner program of February 12, 1933, celebrating the anniversary included no general introduction; but in a folder at the Music Library I found Gilman's Sunday article in the *Herald Tribune* that day: Wagner After Fifty Years. And in the same folder I found, among other things, the notes for a Philharmonic Wagner program of November 6, 1927, which began with a long general estimate. Presumably I would have found similar material on Beethoven and Brahms.

Even when Mr. Cushing allows Gilman his general say—for example, on Debussy, on Schubert—he nevertheless adds material of his own. It looks as though what the scheme of Gilman's book requires is the corrective ideas of Edward Cushing.

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Letters to the Editors

"The Nation": A Significant Contribution

Dear Sirs: Congratulations on your receiving the Lincoln University award for Significant Contributions to Better Human Relations. Hope you remain steadfast to your principles for many years to come.

Los Angeles ETTIE B. ISAACS

Collazo: Criminal or Patriot?

Dear Sirs: The silence of the American press about the Collazo case is in striking contrast to the enormous attention that it has received throughout South and Central America. Latin America looks upon the case as a struggle between a powerful imperialist country and a patriot fighting for the independence of his native land.

Oscar Collazo is the Puerto Rican who on November 1, 1950, was shot and arrested in a demonstration at Blair House in Washington, D. C. His compatriot, Griselio Torresola, was killed. Collazo was tried for killing one of the Blair House guards, convicted, and sentenced to death by Judge Goldsborough in the District of Columbia Federal Court. This sentence was upheld by the Court of Appeals; the United States Supreme Court refused to hear an appeal. The date for Collazo's execution will be fixed in a few days.

Many people have forgotten the context in which the shooting occurred. On the day of the demonstration the papers were full of the news of demonstrations in Puerto Rico in which women and children were killed by soldiers. As might be expected, the news had an electrifying effect upon the many Puerto Ricans in this country. Some looked upon the outbreaks as the prelude to a great political upheaval on the island. Among them were Oscar Collazo and Griselio Torresola.

It should not be forgotten that the Puerto Rican looks upon his country as a colony of the United States. Practically every political party in Puerto Rico stands for independence. Independence takes priority over all other issues. The incumbent governor, Munoz Marin, together with his Popular Party has been accused of being an American tool who wishes to perpetuate rather than end Puerto Rico's colonial status. One of the most outspoken opponents of the Marin regime is the Nationalist Party. It was against it that the government directed its fire in the last days of October, 1950.

Both Oscar Collazo and Griselio Torresola were members of the Nationalist Party and believed in its program of unqualified independence. Disturbed by the events in Puerto Rico, they decided to return to the island and do what they could for their compatriots. But instead of going to Puerto Rico they went to Washington.

At his trial in February, 1951, where he was ably defended by Leo Rover, former United States attorney, and his associates, Sidney Sachs and Kenneth Wood, Oscar Collazo gave this reason for deciding to go to Washington:

> I was sure at that time, and I am sure even now, that the American people don't know where Puerto Rico is, they don't know what is Puerto Rico, they don't know that Puerto Rico is a possession of the United States. . . . As long as the American people didn't know what Puerto Rico was or which was the real Puerto Rico government they would never care what was happening in Puerto Rico. By coming to Washington and making some kind of demonstration . . . we would be in a better situation to make the American people understand the real situation of Puerto Rico. . . .

Our intentions were to make a demonstration on the steps of the Blair House. In the Blair House was the residence of the President of the United States, and we wanted the American people and the people of the world to know that Puerto Rico was the possession of the United States, and at that time particularly the Puerto Rican people were being murdered by the American authorities in Puerto Rico. . . . I think it would draw the attention of the whole world to Washington, especially if two Puerto Ricans were killed in front of his residence. . . .

At one point in his trial Collazo said to the United States Attorney: "I am not here to deny any part" in the shooting; his entire testimony proves that here was a man who had dedicated his life to freeing his country. There is nothing spectacular or sensational about this man. He has devoted his life to two things: his family and the independence of his country. He is a skilled metal worker, employed up to the very day he decided to go on his fateful mission. He is a devout man, a good union member, respected and admired by his neighbors and fellow-workers.

We forget that there are people now who look upon us, as we once looked upon England, as imperialists and oppressors. Few North Americans realize the extent to which Puerto Rico

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has been exploited and its wealth drawn off by Americans. The Puerto Rican doesn't benefit from the agricultural and mineral wealth of his country. He lives in dire poverty, ignorance, and chronic ill health.

I think it is no exaggeration to characterize the Collazo case as a historic one, one by which we will be judged for years to come. Our national honor is at stake.

It should be of no moment to us that Oscar Collazo refuses to plead for clemency. That is the measure of the man, holding to principle to the end. It is not, however, a restraint upon us, nor does it absolve us from our responsibility. A clemency petition circulated in his behalf has been signed by 61,000 people, mainly Puerto Ricans who see his case for what it is. If you write today to President Truman, Collazo's life may yet be saved.

New York ABRAHAM UNGER

A Suggestion . . .

Dear Sirs: I suggest not only that every reader of *The Nation* sell five copies of your comprehensive and excellent civil-liberties issue but that a fund be collected to send a copy to every member of the British Parliament—*now.* I wish to start the fund with a $50 contribution to be paid when the rest is forthcoming. But obviously, in the America of today, I can't give you my real name.

A YANK IN ENGLAND

. . . Acted Upon

Dear Yank: Thanks for your letter. On its receipt we immediately raised enough money—including your contribution—to send copies of the June 28 *Nation* to the 670 members of the British Parliament. But where, where, is that $50? And how can we reach you?

EDITORS THE NATION

CORRECTION: An editorial comment in our issue of May 31 referred to a pamphlet of Freedom Clubs, Inc., as denouncing the investigation of Senator Benton's charges against Joseph R. McCarthy by the Senate Elections Subcommittee as "one of the most vicious smear campaigns in American history." Our attention has been called to the fact that the characterization in the pamphlet refers to the general "smear campaign" against Senator McCarthy rather than to the investigation *per se.*

—EDITORS THE NATION

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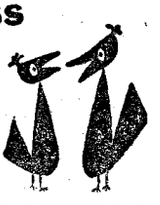

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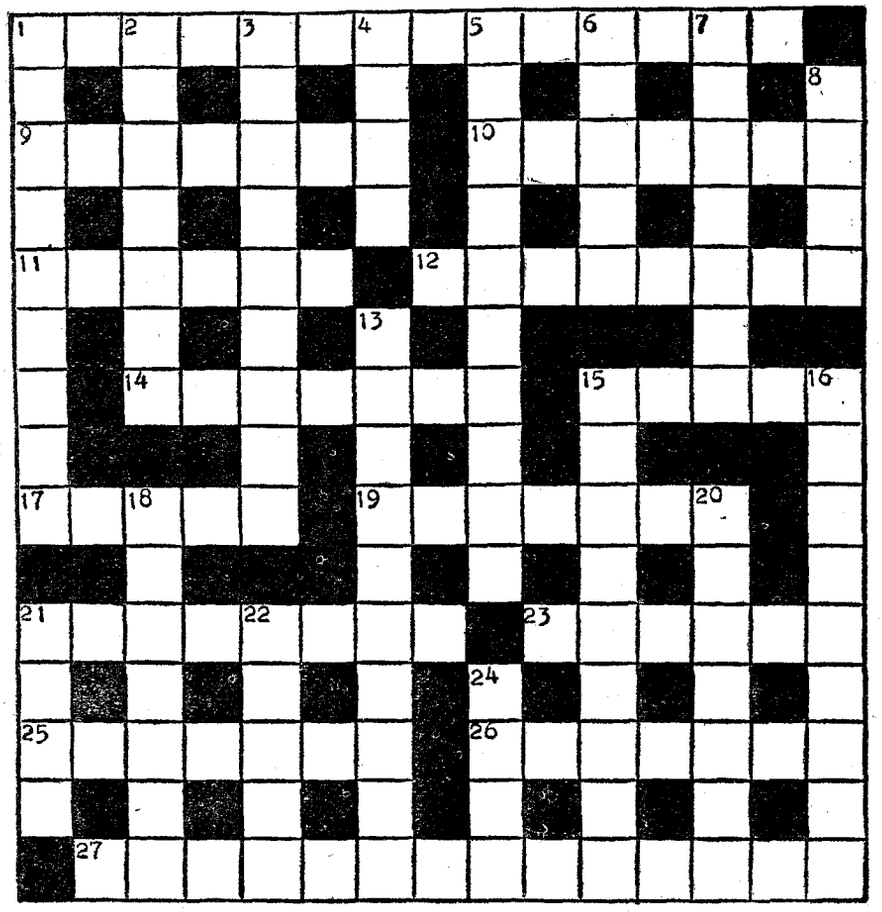
Crossword Puzzle No. 473

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Breaking the story that it wasn't the real Hitler? (The mistake might have been in shooting but twice!) (6, 8)
9 Said to be an involved deal if it has the member from 3 down in it. (7)
10 and 11. Our delegates sometimes attempt to call Russia's in the city. (7, 6)
12 and 21 across. Jail break? (8, 8)
14 Not necessarily one of the Indians or the Braves who might enable you to watch them play. (7)
15 How to put up an argument in the saying of "an apple a day," etc. (5)
17 Does his B. A. give one this title? (5)
19 Is Pa tired of the flies and mosquitoes? (7)
21 See 12.
23 This bird sounds like quite a driving force in England. (6)
25 A broken toe in the game? Quite the opposite, with this defense mechanism. (7)
26 A highly skilled person with the sound of volatile liquid. (7)
27 One probably isn't thinking of oneself when walking out on it. (8, 6)

DOWN

1 Rural assignments used as policemen's punishment? (They don't pay off so well!) (4, 5)
2 Superior marks are sometimes made by Hans. (7)
3 One of Elia's supporters? (3, 2, 4)
4 Winds up stories with the head of 3. (4)
5 The race is nothing to diagram, if you want a symbolic story. (10)
6 Candidates might nonplus one! (5)
7 One who shuts himself up without being told. (7)
8 Every one feels a stir of might, according to Lowell. (4)
13 Tradescantia is a weird sport! (10)
15 Sometimes serves as an authoritative pattern. (9)
16 Certainly not dressed in high style! (9)
18 Listen first, and talk later! (It's only rumor, anyway!) (7)
20 How the city, in short, looks in the beginning of April, (1)
21 Is appropriate for certain kinds of attack. (4)
22 Bambi's friend did to make a name for himself. (5)
24 Army girl who was followed by the end of 3. (4)

★

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 472

ACROSS:—1 PRINCESSES; 6 and 2 down DOWN IN FRONT; 10 DIFFUSE; 11 DRILLER; 12 BOBBY PIN; 13 TANGO; 15 ICTUS; 17 KNOCKDOWN; 19 LABYRINTH; 21 SOFAS; 23 CANDY; 24 CAROLINE; 27 TEHERAN; 28 IMPASTO; 29 DOES; 30 ANTECEDENT.

DOWN:—3 CRUMB; 4 SHEEPSKIN; 5 EMDEN; 7 ORLANDO; 8 NARROWNESS; 9 MISTAKES; 14 DISLOCATED; 16 SPRAYERS; 18 OTHERWISE; 20 BANSHEE; 22 FINESSE; 24 CANON; 25 LAPSE; 26 and 1 down FOOTPADS.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York.

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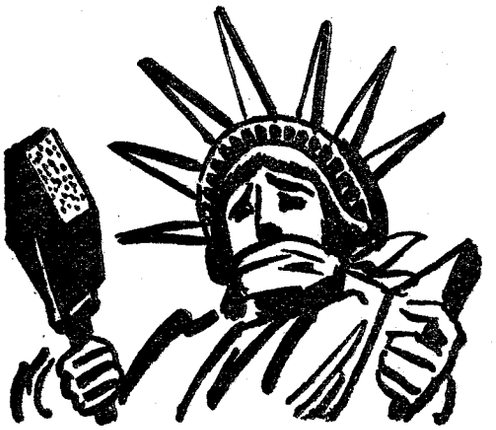
END GAG-LAW!
it's up to YOU--



Whether you agree with their political views or not, the 16 Communists on trial at Foley Square Federal Court are fighting *your* battle!

If they are convicted, the howls of the McCarthyites will grow louder and bolder!

U. S. brand fascism has not completely arrived. But it creeps up slowly, day after day. Deportations here, contempt convictions there, lynchings—illegal or otherwise—North and South, jobs lost and fear spreading everywhere.

Concentration camps in Arizona, Florida and four other states. And Smith Act trials in New York, Baltimore, Pittsburgh, Los Angeles, Hawaii, Puerto Rico. Where next?

Wasn't it a million "fellow travelers" that J. Edgar Hoover said that the net was spread for? *A million?*

But wait, Mr. Hoover! Not so quick! Powerful voices have begun to speak up from every corner of the land. Have Begun to Unite! To Fight Back!

This can be seen in the strong resolutions adopted by many C. I. O. and A. F. L. unions, statements by the American Civil Liberties Union, Americans for Democratic Action, ministers, educators and thousands of other freedom-loving Americans.

The Smith *Thought-Control* Act and the Smith Act *trials* are the key instrument used to spread terror and repression. And it is the Smith Act that must be fought . . . and *nullified!*

It is the 16 defendants in the Smith Act trial who must be supported with all the vigor and self-sacrifice that liberty-loving Americans can command. *By defending them we defend the Constitutional rights of ALL Americans!*

The Foley Square defendants are doing their share. They are fighting vigorously, courageously, and are determined to fight on—*to win!*

They desperately, urgently, need *your* help—your dollars, your voice. Send $1, Send $10, Send $100, Send $1000—But send *something*—now, today!

Citizens Emergency Defense Conference
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I enclose the sum of $_____ as my contribution for the legal defense of the 16 Smith Act victims.

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